2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

its place in the pit. The particles of sand adhering to the outside were scraped off with a sharp edged stick, leaving a fairly smooth outer surface. Unusual irregularities were corrected by moistening the uneven portions and smoothing with the hand. This completed the building of the pot proper. Firing was never practiced so far as John Tom's information went. He stated that pots would crack if allowed to get too hot. Hardening seems to have been satisfactorily accomplished by the heat of the sun alone.

A cooking basket was occasionally substituted for the pit in the sand in which to form the pot. It was necessary to select a basket with a fairly smooth inner surface or it would be difficult to remove the pot. In addition, it had to be turned out before thoroughly dry to avoid sticking to the basket.

A pot was never complete without a covering of fish skin. This was added for strength, to prevent cracking and possibly to render the container more waterproof. The skin of the white or silver salmon, (*Oncorhynchus kisutch*) was utilized for this purpose. A green or dampened skin was carefully cut and sewn to fit closely around the vessel. Tightly rolled sinew from the leg of the deer served as thread. The covering extended over the upper edge and down on the inside for an inch or two. Near the top of the pot two or three small holes were made, extending through the outside covering, the clay, and the inside projection of the skin. Through these holes rawhide thongs were threaded and knotted on either side. These served to hold the covering in place; they were not used as places of attachment for a handle since such were never applied. Upon drying the skin tightened; the vessel was then completed and ready for use.

The commonest shape in which clay vessels were made was identical with that of the typical cooking basket: elliptical in cross section, tapering gradually from top to bottom. Such vessels were seldom built as large as cooking baskets, however; the depth was often as little as eight inches.

As stated above, these vessels of clay were used exclusively for carrying water; they were always soon emptied for they were not capable of holding water over longer periods of time than twenty or thirty minutes without damage.

Clay pots of the type described were in common use at the time when John Tom was a boy. He learned the details of their manufacture from his mother who made such a vessel and used it for some time during his youth. They gradually fell into disuse while he was in his teens, at which time metal buckets were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Clay was also used for making the heads of children's dolls. These were rudely molded and attached to bodies of tule, or later, cloth.

Pipes were made only of stone; clay was never utilized for this purpose.[6]

[6]The preceding data were originally published in the American Anthropologist, vol. 34, no. 1, pages 127-133, under the title of *Pottery on the Middle Columbia*. In that paper the problem of accounting for the presence of pottery in this isolated region was considered, and the distribution of pottery-making peoples in the surrounding area was noted. The general conclusion was that the pottery of the Sanpoil might be assumed as historically linked with that of the Sarsi with the least possibility of error, if an assumption of linkage were to be made.

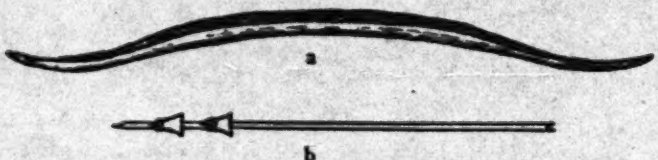
Subsequent to the writing of that paper I have received from Dr. Franz Boas the information that he has unpublished data concerning the use of pottery by the Kutenai, a tribe much

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish Sanpoil

224 Ground squirrels and other burrowing animals were often drowned out of their holes. If alive when they emerged they were killed with a club.

Rabbits were killed in large numbers, to provide fur for caps, mittens and blankets and for food. They were usually taken by means of the bow and arrows. When a rabbit was found poised, ready to jump, the hunter might walk slowly around and around the animal, gradually approaching closer, and repeating over

[41]



a

b

FIG. 15. (a) Sinew backed bow. (b) Arrow for ground hogs.

and over, "You are a chief; you are a great chief," etc. Soon the rabbit would lie down and allow the hunter to pick it up .(!)

[134] The turtles of the region (*Clemmys marmorata* and *Chrysemys marginata bellii*) were taken for food purposes.

223 Eagles were caught by lying in wait at their nests. In order to reach their nests, which were built in crevices on the faces of cliffs, it was necessary to descend and return by means of three strand willow bark rope made fast at the top. As the birds returned to the nest they were grasped by the legs and killed. Sometimes only the young birds were taken. It is uncertain whether the young ones were raised in captivity or not. Eagles were sought especially for their feathers which were used on arrows and in ceremonial dress, but also for their flesh which was eaten.

Waterfowl were only rarely killed, due to the difficulty involved. The young were often taken from their nests before learning to fly, not to be kept, but for immediate consumption as food.

Grouse were caught with a simple snare made of Indian hemp cord. The snare was suspended over one of the trails where the birds were accustomed to run.

Various other birds were occasionally killed with the bow and special arrows.[11]

231 Raccoons were kept as pets.

BOWS AND ARROWS

237 Since bows and arrows were used almost exclusively in hunting, they will be
322 described at this point. Three types of bow (tcukwi'nk^{u}) were utilized. In order
411 of importance they were the sinew-backed bow, the common or self bow, and the elk rib bow.

[137] Syringa, *Philadelphus Lewisii* Pursh, (wuxwa'xailp^{u}), or ocean spray, *Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim, (mətxmətxai'lp^{u}), was used in the manufacture of

[11] See page 89.

[i.e., bear-hunting party. --Analyst]

Sinkaietk

The leader of the party had to have considerable power. Nevertheless, his power would be of no avail if he went bear hunting during his wife's periods, unless he had first sweated. This was necessary for the hunter of any game under the same circumstances, but in this case the bear would certainly kill the hunter. Before going out to hunt the grizzly, he painted his body red, being nude save for a breechclout, and drew red marks on his cheeks. Or having smeared red paint over his face, he scraped claw-like marks with his finger tips (see Figure 16).

He would stalk the bear and shoot it all alone, relying on his power to prevent it from charging. The other men might help dispatch it with spears and clubs. After he had killed two or so, the other men might try, for then they would have the protection of his power. No dogs were used, though reported by Teit for the Thompson. A bear was skinned on the spot, the meat divided equally among all the men, although the head, heart, paws and skin went to the head man. If he had a number at the end of the season he would give some of these parts to his followers.

An anecdote illustrative of the danger from grizzlies was told by Mary Carden. Some women were camped on the Methow in September. One old woman had a dream that someone would be killed. Four young girls went gathering choke cherries when they came on the tracks of a grizzly. At that three of them hurried to lace their baskets to return. The fourth, a captive, was not afraid. She went on picking while singing a love song. A bear sprang from behind a bush and clawed her face. She screamed. The other girls ran to camp. The bear tore the girl to pieces, even tore out her heart, and dragged the body to the creek where he covered it with mud. The women returned to the main camp. Next morning the men set out to find the remains.

Deadfalls were set in the early spring when bears came from their dens, usually during a big thaw, for at this season they were in good condition. The trap is rectangular in shape, open at one end, made by driving stakes into the ground, four down the two long sides and three across the back. In the diagram (Figure 1) the upper right hand stake is extra large, and may be a living tree. The stakes are about six feet high and three inches in diameter, placed close enough together to keep a bear's head from being poked through. The entrance is two feet wide, just wide enough to permit the body to go in. A horizontal pole (1) is fastened across the tips of the two stakes standing next to those at the entrance. Another horizontal piece at right angles to this rests on it (2). A verticle pole is attached to the main upright stake by lashing it at the center. The top of this pole (3) is notched and the end of (2) fits under the notch. On the other end of 2 rests a very heavy log (4), which is the deadfall. Thus 2 is held in place; but if the bottom of 3 be pulled forward, towards the middle of the trap, so that its

wings, and the backbone cut twice so that there were five pieces. Geese and cranes were cut into seven pieces, the legs separate. This butchering might be done either before they were roasted or afterward, though it used to be done before, while the blood was still in the bird, since a cooked animal has no more spirit. However, cooking the animal without butchering it first would not kill its spirit: only throwing away some of the meat would do this.

Dogs were not eaten, except by unsuccessful and starving hunters in the bush. They were never selected and fattened deliberately, though the French traders used to buy them for food.

No snakes were eaten; and nothing was remembered of hunting elk, moose, or mountain sheep. Cari[illegible] were recollected as obtained by trade. No buffalo are known to have roamed this far west.[13]

A local authority states, however, that the Okanagon believe that buffalo at one time existed in the vicinity of Moses Lake. He quotes Ross Cox: "The Indians allege that the buffaloes were formerly numerous about the plains [of the Palouse in Big Bend and Spokane counties] and assert that remains of these animals are still found."[14]

BERRIES

In general when women went together to gather plant foods, as they generally did, no one of them would officially take the lead. One with more power might be more successful than her companions. Such power might be acquired by a child going near a dead horse But there was no division of their gleanings to affect a balance. Each was entitled only to what she gathered. They went to much the same place year after year.

(1)[a] Service berries'(sI'a) were picked in June, July and August. They grew best in fertile soil along all the larger streams, and were seldom scarce. The women wore coiled cedar-root baskets (stExERé'pa) tied to the front of the waist and used larger coiled baskets (sEnsáq'a'IkEn) for packing them, equipped with a tump line. Occasionally a party would go away over night.

The drying took aproximately a week, depending on the weather and the degree of ripeness of the berries. If there were large flat rocks nearby they were spread on these; otherwise on tule mats or sacks laid on the ground or on racks ten feet long, four feet wide, and two or three feet high. They were taken in should it rain. They were never piled up; always one layer deep. They did not have to be turned over. When dry they were put into hemp bags for winter storage.

[1/A [For footnotes, see p. 25(c), category 11b. -- Analyst]

13 For data on the northwestern distribution of the 1/A
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of 1/A

136

13 For data on the northeastern distribution of the buffalo, see Allen, The "Western Plains," 181 f.
14 Brown, Old Fort Okanogan, 31.
15 Such parenthetical numbers refer to the list of plant foods at the end of this section.

[For context of these footnotes, see p. 25 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 25 (c)

• 136
843

1/ Possibly the grouse is meant. Several varieties of pheasant have been introduced on the reservation and in connection with local whites, the Indians now use the name for birds of the grouse type. - L.S.

1/ [For context of this footnote, see p. 120 (A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 120 (c)

136

11 This is doubtful, since the prairie dog is not on record from this region. — L.S. ½

½ [For context of footnote, see p. 171(B), Category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 171 (c)

5: Teit E-5 (1904-09) 1930 Southeast Salish
Coeur d'Alene

SCAFFOLDS.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes.

CACHES AND CELLARS.—The common cache was a circular pit dug in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country.

HOUSE FURNISHINGS AND UTENSILS.—House furnishings, as among other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For

6: Teit E-3 (1904-09)1930 Southeast Salish
Southern Okanogan; Sanpoil;
Colville; Lakes

224 411 made. The ridged part of the horn formed the belly of the bow. They were sinew-backed, like wooden bows. Hand or wrist guards of skin were used by nearly every bowman.

In shooting the flat bow was held horizontally, the double-curved bow vertically.

Quivers were made of skins of wolverene and fisher, in the hair. Skins of otter, cougar, and fawn were employed occasionally. Some rawhide quivers,[5] generally painted, were in use, but none of woven material.

Spears for hunting beaver were used by the Similkameen and Okanagon and possibly by the other tribes. They were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[6]

● 136 284 *Game and methods of hunting.*—The chief large game hunted by the Okanagon were three species of deer, elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, and black and grizzly bear. Antelope were scarce and goats were uncommon. Sheep and deer were abundant in the Similkameen country, but caribou and antelope were absent. Goats were not much hunted. The Sanpoil hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear. Sheep were scarce. The Sanpoil country was well provided with several kinds of game. Antelope especially were abundant south of the big bend of Columbia River. A famous place for hunting them was around Grand Coulée. Spokan and Columbia also came to hunt at this place. The Colville hunted the same large game as the Sanpoil, but were restricted more to deer. The Lake tribe hunted deer, caribou, goat, and bear. Deer were not so plentiful as in the territories of the other tribes. Elk and sheep were very scarce, and antelope were not found. On the other hand, caribou, goat, and bear were more plentiful than in the countries of the other tribes. Moose, it seems, were occasionally met with. In later days some of the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other Salishan parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains.

The principal smaller kinds of game hunted for food were rabbits, marmots, and beaver. Ground squirrels and tree squirrels were hunted by boys for sport, and their flesh was sometimes eaten. The Similkameen often hunted marmots. Animals such as the cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, lynx cat, otter, marten, mink, fisher, weasel, and wolverene were hunted and snared for their skins only.

[262] 224 The flesh of dogs was eaten only by the old Similkameen people.

The methods of hunting large game appear to have been quite like those of the Thompson, and require no detailed description. They were ordinary still hunting; approaching game in disguise of the game itself and by imitating its actions, or by approaching in disguise of some animal familiar to it; driving into ambushes or to

[5] c, p. 344, fig. 225. [6] c, p. 333, fig. 240.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

224 of the horse, portions of the great open plains were seldom visited.
*191 When the buffalo deserted a part of the plains they sometimes traveled long distances and were hard to follow and overtake on foot. People who attempted to live in these places would have to follow the buffalo or starve, and they could not easily travel great distances
[493] carrying their children, old people, and baggage. Even dogs with travois could not help them a great deal, for the dogs would require to be fed meat constantly. Prairie fires were also dangerous and often drove game away. Besides this, in those days without horses the common game of the open plains (buffalo and antelope) could not be hunted as successfully as in a more or less broken country. Thus long ago people made their headquarters in diversified country, more or less hilly and wooded, where good shelter, firewood, poles, and water were abundant, and where there was a variety of game and fish, where many kinds of roots and berries were growing, and where materials for manufactures were at hand. As the places having the best conditions were in the more or less hilly and partly wooded country in proximity to the Rocky Mountains, most bands made their headquarters in the country of the foothills. Some bands who lived farther east had their headquarters within valleys in local or isolated ranges of hills. In some cases there were considerable distances between bands, while other bands were comparatively close to one another. In all cases there was a sufficient area of hunting country intervening to allow of good hunting for all. As a rule, people hunted the country halfway over to the next band. Traveling over long distances occurred, but usually not for collecting food supplies but for visiting, trading, or on the warpath. They traveled light and lived on the game of the country as they went along, leaving all surplus meat that they could not carry. Long ago buffalo were not considered much more valuable for meat and skins than some other kinds of large game, such as elk, for instance.

000 Buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country and in the country of the Salish-*Tuna'xe*. Elk, antelope, and deer of two or three kinds were also plentiful; moose and mountain sheep abounded in many places. Goats occurred, but they were seldom hunted owing to the abundance of other game easier to obtain and considered much more valuable. Besides large game, small game and game birds were
● 136 abundant, also roots, berries, fish, and shellfish. The Pend d'Oreilles used shellfish, but it must have been a matter of choice with them, and not necessity, for their country was almost as well stocked with game as that of the Flathead. Buffalo were less abundant, but other kinds of game were probably equally as plentiful as in the Flathead country, if not more so. Besides, at one time caribou abounded in many places north of Pend Oreille River, and both the Pend d'Oreilles

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

• 136 and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The Spokan had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, transportation, and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place. Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes, who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. Whatever was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide bags came more and more into use; parfleches were universally used as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became of less importance, because these industries could not always be prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and people often found themselves far away at the proper season for berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game. A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties.

224 198 *171 [222] 000

The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves, and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead, and that they must have had headquarters in some semiforested country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sioux, and Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flat-

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder. 221

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them." 227 171*

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtĕ'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtĕ'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xe* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade. [411] [136] [438]

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

Canoes.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having 501 [171]*